2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

562 become figuratively invisible. Great courtesy is shown even
576 among people who are intimate and it is extremely unusual for a man to "get fresh" with a girl in public; should it happen, the man would be severely punished. Thus a woman can confidently remain in her house while her male relatives are away at work, and a girl can go anywhere without fear of being approached by a stranger. Girls of high caste usually go chaperoned. Lovers are particularly careful not to show their emotions in public.

To neglect releasing a loud belch after a meal would be taken
264 by the host as a sign that the food was not satisfactory. In gen-
576 eral the Balinese are very frank in actions that would be out of the question among us, such as clearing the throat, spitting, and so forth. These are perfectly normal actions no one needs to conceal.

576 But the key to Balinese etiquette among the castes consists in
564 the language spoken and in keeping at the proper level. Under
[191] no circumstance should a common man stand higher than an aristocrat. If a lowly person has to pass a nobleman who is sitting, he stoops in front of him until he is reasonably far away, and to address his superior he must squat or sit on the ground clasping his hands together in front of his chest or over his left shoulder. To retire, after begging leave, he walks backwards, stooping and holding his hands clasped.

LANGUAGE

191 When two strange Balinese meet, as for instance on the road,
564 they call each other as *djeró*, a safe, polite way of addressing
576 someone whose title is unknown. Since there are no outward signs of caste, the appropriate titles cannot be used and all the words for "you" (*tjaí*, *nyaí*, *naní*) are extremely familiar and derogatory. Strangers talk in the middle language, a compromise between the daily speech and the polite tongue. Should, however, one be of low caste and the other a nobleman, it would be wrong for them to continue talking in this manner, and one of

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

the two, probably the high-caste man, will ask the other: "*Antuh linggé?* Where is your place (caste)?" which is answered by the other man's stating his caste. Then the usual system is adopted; the low man speaks the high tongue and the aristocrat answers in the common language.

When I started to study Balinese I found it disturbing to hear the people around the house talking in the daily language and then suddenly shifting to high to address Gusti, our landlord-prince, who answered them in the common language. The high and low tongues are not two dialects or even variations of the same languages, but two distinct, unrelated languages with separate roots, different words, and extremely dissimilar character. It was always incongruous to hear an educated nobleman talking the harsh, guttural low tongue, while an ordinary peasant had to address him in the refined high Balinese.

The low language is the everyday tongue spoken by equals at home, at work, and at the market. It is undoubtedly the native language of the island and belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian dialects, the aboriginal languages of the archipelago. The high language is similar to Javanese and is of Sanskrit-Javanese origin. It is flowery, and rich in shades of meaning; I have been told that to speak it well, one should know about ten different words to express the same idea. Few Balinese can speak the high language well, and the ordinary peasant generally ignores it, except perhaps for standard expression to address a superior. The peasant learned to listen only when he became a vassal of the Hindu-Javanese feudal lords, who had to learn the language of the island, but they demanded to be addressed in their own, high tongue by the unworthy natives. The natural politeness of the Balinese perhaps gave birth to the middle language, used when in doubt of a man's caste.

It is an important rule that one may not use high terms when speaking about oneself; it would be poor taste to call one's head by the elegant term *prabú*, instead of the common word *sirah*, or to refer to one's feet as *tiokor* instead of *batis*. It would be a

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

191 dreadful insult to speak of someone's head as *tandas*, meaning
564 the head of animals.
576 The type of language used in conversation is prescribed by one of the strict rules of caste etiquette, and the use of the wrong form is a serious offence. A prince has to be addressed as "highness" (*Ratú* or *Agung*), but he and the people of his caste talk to everybody in the low language, except perhaps to their parents, elder brothers, and members of the priestly caste, the Brahmanas. Polite people (not all high-born people are considered polite) are supposed to address old people in the high language.

198 There is still a fourth language, the Kawi, used on ritual occa-
197 sions, in poetry and classic literature. It is archaic Javanese, in which nine out of ten words are Sanskrit; but the knowledge of Kawi rests almost entirely with the priests and scholarly Balinese.

191 The language problem of Bali has been further complicated
178 by the addition of Malay, now officially the language of the Dutch East Indies. It is taught in the schools and is spreading rapidly among the Balinese youth because it is considerably simpler than the difficult Balinese and is free of the caste regulations. Thus a modern Balinese scholar would require five languages for social and cultural intercourse: the high, middle, and low Balinese, plus Kawi and Malay. Such a linguist is not rare today in Bali.

THE CASTES

564 The Hindu caste system as it is found today in Bali was not
177 firmly implanted until after the conquest by the famous Gadja Mada. Then Hindu-Javanese rule was definitely established and the island was divided into vassal territories paying tribute to the local princes that were given control. The natives lived under a
[565] class system of their own long before that time, however. They had their ranks, with a sort of aristocracy that combined government and priesthood.

184 Hindu-Javanese penetration did not reach many of the remote
564 mountain communities, which remained outside the feudal ter-

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

little girl once told me her teacher said it was improper to show one's breasts. In at least one case the result has been tragic; in the little mountain village of Kayubihi a child was shamed by his teacher because he did not wear a shirt, but his father, who had never owned one (nor had any of his ancestors), refused to buy it for him. He felt so thoroughly disgraced that one night he hanged himself from the tree in front of the schoolhouse.

The teacher forces his half-digested jumble of European ideas on the little pupils, who from the beginning of their education learn to look down on everything Balinese. They are taught about what a European child learns in primary school; they learn to speak and write in Malay, a language foreign to Bali, which most often their parents ignore, and some even have a smattering of Dutch, so when they come out of school they make good, cheap clerks, totally uninterested in their own culture. Most speak better Malay than Balinese and feel above the everyday requirements of Balinese life. Since there are so few jobs available on the island in which such education would be required, making clerks of the Balinese seems to make European education have a negative and even detrimental effect. Typical was the case of Rapung, the young school-teacher out of work who gave me lessons in Balinese; he was intelligent and rather well informed, yet he wanted to learn to cook or to serve at table or become a house-boy. Of course agriculture was much below him.

It seems too bad that modern education, at least in Bali, where the entire life of the island is so dependent on its traditions, tends to disinherit the future generation from their culture, simply because it is snubbed in the educational program of the schools. It is true that many young Balinese are still taught at home the rudiments of the native education, often by old-fashioned *gurus*, but what is not officially recognized by their teachers will soon become discredited. There are, however, encouraging rumours that the Government plans a revision of the system.

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

man happens to have on his land a surplus of bamboo, and to be short of coconuts or rice, he can arrange with the keeper of the accounts to substitute this commodity to the value of his contribution. A record is kept, scratched upon a leaf of *tal* palm, of all contributions and defaults, both in work and in kind, and cumulative fines are imposed upon all who do not do their share. The temple as a rule possesses some funds, chiefly profits from the temple lands (*labaan*) which are under the custody of the priest guardian, or *pemangkoe*. He makes a living from them, but all members of the temple have an equal share in the produce over and above his portion. If the produce has been divided and distributed among them earlier in the season, they are required to make up in money or in kind the value of their shares, as the needs of the temple festival have first claim upon these riches.

The temple priests who are the guardians of these temples have not studied as have the Brahmana high priests, the *pedanda*, who are often scholars and learned men. The temple priest may be drawn from any caste, Brahmana, Ksatrya, Vesya, or Soedra (Sudra), depending upon the population and caste distribution in the various villages. They are for the most part Soedra, and their office is not a particularly high one, not, for example, of anything like the importance of that of the *klian dèsa*, head, or literally, elder, of the village. They possess written instructions for the giving of offerings, the prayers, and the course the festival is to follow. These contain long minutely specified listings of the offerings for the festival and of the prayers, in the "old language," known as *kawi*, in the current High Balinese, and some few fragments of corrupt but still recognizable verses in Sanskrit. Many of these appear to be taken from the Vedas, and the term used in Bali for the high priest's praying is the verbal noun formed from the root *veda*, *meweda*. To these untutored temple priests the meaning of the Sanskrit fragments is frequently lost, and they content themselves with the repetition of them and the copying out of the texts every generation or so when the palm-leaf books begin to wear out. For this reason the errors which have crept into the versions preserved by the temple priests are very numerous, words and sometimes whole lines are lost, and phonetic changes occur which do not follow any rule, but are merely accidental and influenced to some extent by the pronunciation of similar words (often with quite different meanings) in current Balinese. It is a matter of some amazement to contemporary Sanskrit scholars that they are able today to identify any of the sacred texts which have been so care-

means string, in Sanskrit as well, and from this term the word *s'tali*, meaning one string, is derived. In the prescriptions for offerings written on *lontar* (*tal*) palm the amount of money was always given in Chinese cash, as 33, 66, etc., but during the years of our study the Dutch silver coins could be substituted.

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
OF7 Bali OF7

576 way of life, their social and religious concepts, which hold them to a rigid pattern of what is fitting. In the use of language, as in other 576 matters, definite and complex rules must be followed. The Balinese 191 language, rich in terms with minutely differentiated meanings, is 564 also stratified into words of all levels, which may be roughly subdivided into High and Low Balinese. Low Balinese is the familiar and current language, used between members of a family and to all friends and intimates, except when there is a disparity of caste between the speakers. A man of low caste must address his social superior in High Balinese, and he will be answered in Low. The matter is further complicated when a man of intermediate caste is being discussed, for the commoner must choose a word in referring to him neither so low as to be insulting to the ears of the noble he is addressing, nor so high as to be discourteous, for the very highest words should be reserved for reference to the noble himself.[6] Special words are to be used only in reference to animals, and to apply one of these lowest words to a man constitutes an unforgiveable insult. Strangers who meet address each other in High Balinese, asking "Whence do you come? Where are you going?," and follow this immediately with a leading question designed to discover the rank of the interlocutor, so that the language appropriate to him may be at once adopted. There is no "farewell" in the language. Visitors must ask their host's permission to depart, and the answer to this request may be either the common "yes," a dismissal, or a choice of a polite word for "go," carrying a courteous inflection because of the relative highness of the word used.

576 Less complex, but equally rigid, rules prescribe the actual way of 516 sitting. Both men and women habitually squat on their heels, and this is the position most readily assumed when anyone stops for a moment what he is doing, either for conversation or for a short rest from hard labor (and it may be noted in passing that the Balinese [461] seem to take, automatically, a rest of five or ten minutes out of every hour of hard work; look at any ten men at work in the sun, and two will be sitting under a tree; half an hour later, two others will be resting). The squatting position may also be held over long periods, in the fulfillment of any task conveniently done on or near the ground, such as the playing of certain musical instruments, or the chopping and hashing of foodstuffs on a wooden block, in prepara-

[171] [6] It is as if we were to choose between the expressions "he has eaten," "he has dined," and "he has partaken of his repast."

J
191
197

[146 cont.]
which is used by inferiors to superiors and also generally by the well-to-do, and all those who have some rank, among one another when, it is to be understood, they have the same rank; thirdly, the mădja, that is, the middle language, the language of friendly familiarity, which is spoken by private persons of like rank among one another when the Ngoko would not be friendly enough and the Krama too polite or too obsequious (1).

1. Concerning the difference between Krama and Ngoko, see Veth, Java, Vol. [no number given], pp. 439-440, and concerning the origin of these two languages, p. 441.

There are other varieties, but they need not be mentioned here.

[147] One does not find such varieties in the languages of the other peoples in the archipelago.

This difference is most apparent in the use of pronouns, for example, in Malay. Depending on the relationship, for I [ego] one uses aku, kita, hamba, sĕhaja, ulun, dĕngan, patik, hamba tuwan, jang dipĕrhamba, beta, guwa, and does it as follows: to his equals or inferiors, by a small child to his parents, by man to God, aku; also in general in writings when a difference in rank or age has nothing to do with the matter. As pluralis majestatis, one uses kita or kami, and out of politeness, even to inferiors, sĕhaja or hamba. The latter is less humble than the former. In Batavia, to lowly people or servants one says guwa (Chinese) or aku, to a reigning sovereign patik. The sovereign uses kita to his subjects, but beta to his viceroy, when he is equal in rank, or when addressing his mother, etc. (1).

1. Klinkert, Nieuw Nederl. Mal. Wdb., see ik.

B
191
197

Only in the Balinese do we again find a distinction between high, middle, and low languages, but this is to be

Bl [147 cont.]

191 attributed to Javanese influence. Here, however, there are no
197 definite names for the three varieties of language. Another
I distinction is that between old and new language. Thus, one
J speaks of Old Javanese, or Kawi, and New Javanese (2), Old
MK
197

2. Veth, Java, Vol. I, pp. 407 ff.

and New Buginese (3), etc.

3. Matthes, Boegineesche Spraakkunst, Introduction. Matthes, Makassaarsche Spraakkunst, Introduction, VIII.

MK A third distinction is made between the ordinary language
198 and the one used at religious ceremonies. This is often even the rule and naturally so, because religious formulas remain unchanged even though the language changes. For instance, the pagan priests, bissu, of the Makassarese and Buginese use a special language (4), as do the balian of the Dajak, which is called

Br
198

4. Matthes, Iets over de Bissoe's [Something about the Bissu], etc., p. 2. Hardeland, Dajaksche Grammatik, pp. 7-9.

basa sangiang, language of the spirits. These languages are primarily distinguished by [148] the use of words that the people do not understand, words that are either obsolete or adopted from other languages and that even the priest themselves often no
Bt longer comprehend. A similar language among the Batak is
198 called hata pangaraksaon and is used by soothsayers to conjure the spirits. This is not an obsolete language, however, but is more flowery language with circumlocutions, with which even lifeless objects are addressed as though they were persons. They are given names taken from one or another property of the object.